5: Reyes and Teran--120 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 105

"The Jivaros, are characterized by the boldness with which they defend their liberty and independence. They live in the forest areas drained by the Pastaza, Morona and Santiago rivers as far up as Guadalquiza, and no one has succeeded in conquering or subduing them. Their constant occupation is war, which little by little is decimating their numbers. Their customs are distinctive and constitute the most curious folklore, exploited by writers and travelers alike. Sorcery, superstitions, fiestas, dreams, all are woven into the warp of life in the Jivaro country."

5: Reyes and Teran--120 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 105

"The Jivaros are characterized by the boldness with which they defend their liberty and independence. They live in the forest areas drained by the Pastaza, Morona and Santiago rivers as far up as Guadalquiza, and no one has succeeded in conquering or subduing them. Their constant occupation is war, which little by little is decimating their number. Their customs are distinctive and constitute the most curious folklore, exploited by writers and travelers alike. Sorcery, superstitions, fiestas, dreams, all are woven into the warp of life in the Jivaro country."

JIVARAN STOCK

Distribution of Tribes. -- This group of Indians, commonly known as the Jivaro, occupies a large territory on the eastern slope of the Andes Mountains in Ecuador between the Chinchipa, Altomaranan, and Pastaza Rivers. A small space between the Marona and the lower Pastaza is inhabited by the Murato. There are nine tribes speaking dialects of the Jivaran language, and having similar cultures: Huambesa, Tamora, Cuanduasi, Ashira, Andoa, Copotaza, Arapeca, Chargaime, and Upano. The first five of these tribes are friendly among themselves, and are enemies of the other four tribes. A line drawn west from Andoa would divide these two hostile factions. I was unable to visit the Jivaro in their own country to make personal observations, but was fortunate in finding at Iquitos, Peru, Sr. F. T. Muniz, who lived and traveled for some years among this people, and who gave me much information regarding them.

Early in the Seventeenth Century, the missionaries came into contact with some of the tribes, and established stations. The old Spanish town of Macas is reported to have had at one time several thousand Jivaro, but today the town has disappeared and the inhabitants are scattered among the Upano, who speak a dialect of the same language. The more remote tribes have had little contact with the Whites, and they continue to practise their old customs and to live their old tribal life. Their number has been reduced, until at the present time there are not more than eight or ten thousand remaining.

Home Life. -- There is no chief over the whole group, but each tribe has its own headman. In time of war, a war-chief is selected who has absolute authority. They have no villages, but live in large oval-shaped communal houses, which may be seventy-five feet long and forty feet wide, containing several families. A family living in the large house may have a small house at a clearing some distance away where they live while cultivating their fields. The houses are built of poles and have thatched roofs, the walls continuing to the ground, without windows or other openings except two [116] doors, one at either end of the house, one of which is for the use of women and the other for men. Each woman has her own little section of the women's end of the house, with her fireplace made of three short logs with ends together. At the other end of the house the men are grouped, each having his own stool and couch. The men in the house spend their time manufacturing blowguns, poisoned darts, quivers, lances, and round shields of wood or tapir skin. Here they make and keep the great signal drum. The men sit on stools, but the women must sit on the floor. They have no hammocks, but sleep on couches built on raised platforms around the walls. The women take care of the dogs, and keep them tied day and night to the foot of their couches. They make coarse pottery by the common coiling method, and also make baskets, nets, mats, and ropes as needed.
Food Supply. -- They are an agricultural people, depending less upon hunting and fishing than many of the neighboring tribes. They grow corn, cassava, sweet potatoes, and

plantains. They depend to some extent upon hunting and fishing. They use no bow and arrows, but depend upon other devices. They are more expert at using the blowgun than any of the surrounding tribes.

The blowgun is made of two pieces of chonta palm, carved, polished, wrapped with strips of bark, and covered with pitch. The guns are about seven feet long, one and a half inches in diameter at the mouthpiece, and taper to three-quarters of an inch at the muzzle. The mouthpiece is made of bone which is inserted in the end of the gun. The Yagua blowgun mouthpiece is spool-shaped with a depression for the lips, while the Jivaro mouthpiece has a bone which is put into the mouth when blown.

The poisoned arrows are made of strips of chonta palm with a wisp of silk-cotton on one end to fill the bore and catch the breath. They are carried in a quiver which is fastened to a small joint of bamboo filled with curari poison, into which the points are dipped before being used. Blowguns are used here as bows and arrows are used among the other tribes, for killing birds and monkeys. The flight of the arrow is noiseless, and when it strikes the animal the shock is so slight that no attention is paid to it. The poison acts so quickly that the animal soon becomes dizzy and falls to the ground. The blowgun is the most effective weapon for all small game. [117]

They use traps, snares, and pitfalls for catching the larger animals. For catching fish they use large nets with nut sinkers and balsa floats. They also poison the pools

with the roots of bebasco (Jacquinia armillaris). When the poison is used in large quantities the water is turned a whitish color, killing all the fish, which float on the surface where they are picked up from canoes.

Certain animals are taboo. The deer and sloth are supposed to be the dwelling places of the evil spirits, and are not eaten. The tapir is not considered good for women to eat. The men grow tobacco, and use it to smoke and drink.

Fire Making. -- They make fire by the common method of twirling a stick between the palms. They have an interesting tradition of how they first obtained fire. In the beginning they cooked their eggs in the sun, and warmed their food under their arms. A Jivaro man, Takia, first learned to make fire by rubbing two sticks together, but he kept the fire to himself, and would not allow his people to use it or to know how to make it, so they attempted to steal it from him. At that time the Jivaro resembled men but could fly like birds. Several men went to Takia's house to try to get the fire, but Takia kept his door ajar, and when one put his head in, he closed the door, and killed him. The snake said that he would try another method, so he wet his wings, and went to the path where Takia's wife would find him in the early morning. She took pity on him, carried him into the house, and placed him near the fire. When he was warm and dry, he took a fire brand with his tail, and flew away to the top of a dead tree where he obtained some dry bark in which he wrapped the fire, and carried it to his own house. There he built

a fire, and gave it to his people, so they were no longer compelled to ripen their food under their arms. Takia scolded his wife, but the Jivaro have had fire ever since, and know how to make it by rubbing together two pieces of silk-cotton wood.

Dress and Ornamentation. --Men wear either a kilt-like cotton garment reaching the knees, or a loose sleeveless bark shirt. These garments are sometimes painted in geometric designs, or decorated by sewing on strings of monkey teeth, beads, or feathers. The leaders of the dance wear a beautiful ceremonial hat or crown made of feathers. The men also wear a back ornament made of bird bones, which is suspended from a band over the forehead. The [118] mummified head or war trophy is worn suspended over this ornament of bird bones. The women wear a skirt of cotton or bark which reaches a little below the knees, and a cotton cloak thrown over one shoulder and fastened under the arm. The children run about naked until the approach of puberty.

Both men and women wear necklaces of the teeth of various animals, and seeds of various kinds and colors. In their ears the men wear sticks of chonta palm about six inches long and one inch thick, from which are suspended feathers and wings of beetles. The nose and lips are not perforated. They paint their faces, hands, and feet black with 'wito' (Genipa Americana), for protection against the flies and the sun. The hair is worn long behind, and cut square across the front. The men wear a loop of hair in front of their ears, wrapped and decorated with feathers.

Marriage. -- Polygamy is common among the Jivaro. A man has the first right to marry his cousin, and may also take her younger sister when she reaches the age of puberty. He is not compelled to marry his cousin, as he may prefer to steal a wife from an enemy tribe. The consent of the girl's father is necessary, before the marriage can take place, and if he is willing, he gives a great feast inviting all the members of the large household. The feast and marriage ceremony are in charge of the medicine man. When all are ready, the medicine man takes food and serves it to the bride, saying, 'This is the way you must serve your husband.' He offers her corn, cassava bread, sweet potatoes, and plantains, and each time repeats the same injunction. Then he brings a servant whom the bridegroom has secured, and says, 'You must always be ready to serve your husband without his asking.' This concludes the ceremony proper, and the rest of the night is spent in feasting and dancing.

The Jivaro often make raids upon their enemies for the purpose of carrying off young women for wives or servants. It has been reported that the Jivaro practise the couvade, but my informant was positive that they do not now, and probably never did.

When a man goes to visit a friend at his house, he steps inside the door, and stands at one side. A woman brings him a seat, and announces him. His host washes, combs his hair, paints his face, and dresses; when ready, he advances, greets the visitor, and sits down in front of him. The visitor talks in a high voice for fifteen [119] or twenty minutes without interruption, giving an account of what he has seen, and what he

has done since their last meeting. The host occasionally gives assent by saying, 'And this is the way you have done it.' When the visitor has concluded, the host takes his turn for about the same period, then they stop and begin talking about other things in a quiet tone. When a woman enters a house she is taken at once to the women's apartment without any ceremony.

The Dead. -- When a man dies he is left in his bed, all of his possessions are placed about him, together with food and drink. The house and fields are deserted, and no one ever goes back to the house or takes anything from the fields.

Religion. -- The Jivaro do not have a well developed religious belief. Iguanchi, their chief spirit, takes account of all the important acts of life, but he is not worshipped in any sense, although he is considered a good and friendly spirit. It is unfortunate that the early missionaries applied the name of this good spirit to the Devil and manufactured a new name for God. The Jivaro have never willingly accepted religious teaching, and many times have driven the missionaries out of the country. They despise the Zaparo, because they have accepted Christian teaching, and are more under the influence of the Whites. The Zaparo, on the other hand, call the Jivaro 'ancas,' or savages, and are greatly afraid of them.

Medicine Men. -- No one dies a natural death. Disease and death are caused by the influence of an enemy medicine man, and hence the disease must be overcome by a friendly medicine man. The medicine man uses both herbs and magic combined. He

selects his herbs, performs his incantations over them, moving his head from side to side, and then gives them to the patient. He then soaks tobacco in water, takes the fluid in the hollow of his hands, and sniffs it into his nostrils. He continues his incantations, and calls upon the evil spirit to come out of the man, saying 'If you, the evil one, have caused this sickness, come and take it away.' He asks the patient if he feels better; if he does not, then he calls upon the animals in the same language. If the patient is not better by this time he gathers other herbs and repeats the process, then he sucks from the seat of the pain and exhibits a piece of bone, chonta, or a small spider which he has sucked out. If the patient gets well, he makes lavish presents to the medicine [120] man, but if he dies, his friends may kill the medicine man or some member of his family, and a vendetta may be started in this way. When a medicine man is sent for, he first makes inquiry, and if he thinks a person may not recover he finds some excuse for not administering unto him.

Mummified Heads. -- The Jivaro are considered war-like people, and as stated above, they are divided into two hostile groups, which have been traditional enemies for generations and live in a chronic state of warfare. There are continual raids made from one tribe to another, killing the men, and carrying off the women. They are sometimes called head hunters and cannibals, because they cut off the heads of the enemy, and carry them home to be preserved as trophies (plate 20). They are not cannibals, as they never eat any portion of the body.

105, 116

The tsantsa, or mummified head, is their greatest trophy. When one makes a raid to secure a head the chances are even that he will lose his own, hence it is considered a great honor to take the head of one of the traditional enemy. If the head is that of a chief, some noted warrior, or other important individual, the honor is greater, and a great feast must be given to which all the friendly tribes are invited. To give such a feast it is necessary to clear a field and grow cassava, corn, and plantains, for food and drink for the great throng that will attend. This requires several months or possibly two or three years, hence it is necessary to preserve the head in order to have it present at the feast, as evidence of the hero's prowess.

The hero must plant his fields, but near the time of the feast his friends may assist him in hunting and fishing, and preserving meat, while the women of the house assist his wife in making great quantities of drink to be stored in large earthen jars.

The man must also undergo a fast, or rather submit to taboos. He paints his body with black lines, lives alone, and shows his bravery by going without weapons. He must not kill game with a spear, or eat the flesh of certain animals. He confines himself almost entirely to fruits, vegetables, and fish caught in the net. When the time for the feast arrives, the head-man takes charge. When the dance is ready to begin, the hero, carrying the tsantsa on the top of a staff, comes through the house, and presents it to the Master of Ceremonies, who dips the head first into a decoction of [121] tobacco, then in chicha, and again in clear water. He afterwards pours a little of each of these

beverages into the mouth of the hero, who is seated on a low stool. This ceremony ends the fast for the hero, and frees him from further obligations. The tobacco juice he has taken serves as a violent emetic, but he soon recovers, goes to the river for a bath, and returns to take part in the dance. The Master of Ceremonies carries the head towards the dancers, falls on his knees many times, and ends by making an address complimentary to the courage of the hero, in which he says, 'Brave Jivaro, you have avenged an injury.' He then sets up the staff, with the head on it, in the dance ground; and the men, with the hero's wife, clasp hands and dance around the head, hurling ridicule and derisive epithets at it, as they advance and retreat. At the same time the other women dance in a great circle on the outside of the men.

The dance at the feast of the head is the only opportunity that a woman ever has to dance with the men. It is her greatest honor. After this dance is over, the hero takes the head and hangs it on the principal pillar of the house, where it remains indefinitely. It may eventually be thrown into the river of disposed of at will. In some tribes it is kept and worn on anniversary occasions over the bird-bone back ornament. This ends the ceremonies connected with the head, but the dance continues day and night until the supplies are exhausted.

At midnight on the last day of the dance, a large number of young peccaries, which have been kept fat for the occasion, are brought out, killed by the Master of Ceremonies, and divided among the guests to furnish food for their journey home. This signifies the end of the dance, and is the farewell salutation. Preparations are now made for the

departure, and then all join in a final dance which ends at daybreak. They have been eating, drinking, and dancing for days, and all are so tired that they soon camp and take a long sleep.

When the enemy is killed, his head is cut off with a bamboo knife, and carried home where it is hung up for three or four days until decomposition begins. An incision is made at the edge of the hair and carried over the top of the head to the back of the neck, and the skull is removed. The skin is cleaned of flesh, and boiled in an infusion of herbs containing astringents and preserva- [122] tives. The skin is then sewn up, and shrunken by putting hot sand and hot stones inside. As the skin shrinks it is manipulated to keep it in the desired form. Finally the head is greased and smoked for a long time over a fire made of roots of a certain palm tree. To keep the lips in position while the skin is drying, three small chonta palm sticks are thrust through them below, and cotton strings woven in and out over the lips. These sticks are replaced with cotton cord when the head is completely cured; a transverse cord is attached to the three suspended cords, and hanging from it there are usually several single cords about fifteen inches long, decorated with feathers or beetle wings. These cords are not records, or quipus, but are used for ornamental purposes only. The ears are perforated, and have various decorations of feathers, beads, and beetle wings suspended.

When the skin is sewn up, a short stick is placed inside, attached to a string through a hole in the top of the head. This is used for suspension of the head over the ornament

of bird bones, when it is worn. The head is reduced to about one-eighth its normal size as is shown in the photograph (plate 20), and is very dark brown in color on account of the smoke. It has been said that these heads resemble the originals to such an extent that they may be recognized. A woman is said to have recognized the head of her son, but in all such cases of recognition the fact is known that the head has been taken, and that it is kept in a certain house, so it would be very easy to identify it. There is so little resemblance to the original head that anyone seeing a head for the first time is likely to doubt the story of its origin.

Some tribes preserve the heads of their friends as well as those of their enemies, but women's heads are never preserved.

Every boy is trained to be a warrior. He learns the manufacture and use of weapons, and the taking of the head. He kills a sloth, reduces and preserves its head in the same way that the warriors preserve the heads of their slain enemies.

For protection against the raids of their enemies they make sharp points of chonta palm and set them in the ground about the fields, so as to impale the enemy as he approaches. They also dig pitfalls in the trails, plant lances below, and cover the pit with leaves and bark. These pits are usually dug near the place where a log crosses the trail.

Dances. -- In ordinary dances, the men and women dance around a circle, not together but at the same time, all singing with a flute accompaniment. There is a

special dance which the men dance in pairs. Each is armed with a lance, each in turn makes a short address in which he glorifies himself, then dances in front of the others with his lance ready to strike, and ends by making a feint at his opponent; the others then go through the same performance. In the love dance, a man dances in a circle, blowing a flute, while a woman follows him about.

The drum is never used to furnish music for the dance, but only for purposes of communication. It is made of a log, five feet long and one foot in diameter, with a hole burned out in the middle leaving a lip which gives only a single tone (figure 15)."

"The Jívaro, (Chiwaro, Siwaro, Jíbaro, Givari, Xivari, Chivari, Givaro, Zíbaro, Jivaro, Híbaro, Jívira etc.) --not to be confused with the Cahuapanan-speaking Chébero of the lower Huallaga River or the Hibitoan-speaking Hibito--comprise a linguistically isolated group in the Montaña of Ecuador north of the Marañón River (map 1, No. 3; map 9). There were formerly three, possibly four, main divisions: the Jívaro proper, the Malacata, the Palta and perhaps the now extinct Bracamoro. The Palta, aboriginally a Highland type tribe, has been assimilated into the Quechua-speaking population of Highland Ecuador, and is described by Murra in the Handbook, Volume 2, page 881.

The Jívaro proper are typical of the Montaña except in emphasis. They have little that is directly traceable to the Highland. They practice the rain forest type of farming, hunting, and fishing, but once kept a few llamas and guinea pigs. The principal weapons were formerly the bow and arrow, which were later superceded by the blowgun, spear and atlatl. Men's dress is typical of the Montaña; womens' robes pinned over the shoulder may be of Andean origin. Canoes, baskets, and ceramics are of Tropical Forest types but men's weaving on a vertical loom is unique in the region. The extended, patrilineal family occupying a single large house is a Montaña feature, especially of the late post-Contact period. [618]But Jívaro preoccupation with warfare is an extreme development of a pattern common to neighboring tribes, and the shrunken head complex, though not unique, is outstanding in its importance and persistence. Crisis rites are distinctive

only in the boys' and girls' feast or tobacco ceremony, and in disposal of the dead in hollow logs placed inside houses. The shamanistic complex includes the concept of spirit helpers and magic 'darts' as the cause of disease.

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The Jívaro proper probably now occupy the same territory that they held in aboriginal times (lat. 2° -5° S., long. 77° -79° W., map 5). There are four principal divisions, each split into innumerable communities or jivarías, named after rivers: (1) the Antipa, on the right bank of the Santiago River from the Zamora to the Alto Marañón River; (2) the Aguaruna, on the right bank of the Marañón between the Nieve and Apaga Rivers (lat. 5° S., long. 78° W.); (3) Huambiza, on the right bank of the Morona and Mangosia Rivers and the left bank of the Santiago River from the Cordillera of Cuticu to the Marañón; and (4) the Achuale (Achuare), between the Pastaza and Morona Rivers, from Lake Puralina to Andoas (Stirling, 1938; pp. 2-4).

The Palta and Malacata were probably Jívaro living in the Highland near Loja (lat. 4° S., long. 79° W.) and speaking closely related languages Rel. geogr. Indias, 1881-97, 3:213). For their Jivaro affiliations, Verneau and Rivet (1912-22, p. 37) cite Benavente's expedition (Rel. geogr. Indias, 1881-97, 4: 30). Benavente crossed the Paute and Minas de Santa Barbola Rivers, the latter probably a tributary of the former, and entered what

was presumed to be Jívaro territory, where the Indians spoke the same language as the Malacata.

The Bracamoro (Pacamuru, 'tailed Indians') were the Jívaro of the Zamoro River, but the name was also applied to Indians of unknown speech in the region of Jaén de los Bracamoros.

Many attempts have been made to conquer the Jívaro because of the placer gold in their territory but none succeeded. Two Inca Emperors, Topa Inca and his son, Huayna Capac, both failed to subdue either the Jívaro or the Bracamoro. The latter, who were nearest Spanish posts in the Highland were, however, conquered in 1542 and the city of Jaén founded in 1549. The same year, the Benavente expedition visited the Jívaro proper. Trips by Juan de Salinas, beginning in 1557, led to the founding of several colonies, but the Jívaro destroyed them in 1599. The Bracamoro subsequently disappeared from the literature, probably having been assimilated, but the Jívaro proper retained their independence. During the next century, military and missionary conquests failed. It was not until 1767 that the Jesuits gained a foothold among the Jívaro, but they were expelled the same year, and the Franciscans carried on the work from 1790 to 1803. Missionizing subsequently became mainly a subterfuge for treasure seeking until 1850, when it was resumed with greater sincerity. The Jesuits returned in 1869 but there was an uprising in 1873 and the Jesuits were again expelled in 1886. The remainder of the

century brought [619] more travelers, missionaries, and military expeditions, but none had a lasting influence. During the present century, Protestant missionaries have entered the field. But the Jívaro remain unsubdued and only partially acculturated, though many speak Quechua. They showed aggression against the Whites as late as 1915, 1925, and 1928 (Stirling, 1938, pp. 3-28).

POPULATION

On the basis of a partial census of 1580, Stirling (1938; pp. 36-37) placed the aboriginal population at about 30,000. Modern estimates range from Rivet's 20,000 and Karsten's 15,000 to 20,000 to Tessmann's 10,000 to 12,000.

SOURCES

The Jívaro have probably received more attention than any other South American tribe; the scientific literature on them is enormous. Nevertheless, many aspects of Jívaro culture are imperfectly known.

Old missionary and explorers' accounts contain only fragments of information. (See p. 511 and Stirling, 1938, for a bibliography of these.) Ethnological studies tend to treat only limited aspects of the culture or to reflect strong theoretical views of the authors. Karsten's many publications, which are summarized in his comprehensive work (1935), were based on 3 years of field work, though he only twice spent more than 8 days in a single village. His theoretical interest in religion is very manifest, and it is

frequently impossible to distinguish his own or his informant's views from his first-hand observations. Nonetheless, it is the main source on social and religious culture. Rivet's studies are compilations of older sources; he never visited the Jívaro. Up de Graf's (1923) work is designed for popular appeal. Tessmann (1930) adds only a few fragments of information from an Aguaruna informant. Stirling (1938) is the first to recognize the importance of change in the historic period; he also adds new detailed data on blowguns, perparation of shrunken heads, shamanism, weaving, and warfare.

Present needs include adequate studies of technology (which are now only partially available), clarification of social structure and function and of marriage practice through a genealocical approach, verification of the patterns of religion and shamanism, analysis of property rights, and study of agricultural methods. There is also abundant opportunity for investigation of local variations in this large and widely distributed tribe.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE

Jívaro crops of the 16th century were 'seeds' maize, and a root, doubtless manioc. Fish, deer,, tapir, wild fruits, cacao, nuts, and curassow supplemented the diet. Recently, however, the Jívaro have eaten neither deer nor tapir, fearing the spirits in them. [620]

FARMING. --Present-century crops appear in table 1 (p. 516). They are cultivated with much ritual (Karsten, 1935) in fields located around the communities. Nonfood crops include cotton, tobacco, mycot, natima, bixa, and barbasco (Stirling, 1938).

AGRICULTURAL RITES. --Karsten (1920 a, 1935) reports certain agricultural rites of the Jívaro. When planting manioc to be consumed during a tobacco feast in her honor, a woman and her companions squat near the cuttings and chant an incantation. Then they address Nungui, the Earth Goddess, who is symbolized by a stone of curious shape. The first manioc cutting is painted red, and the woman to be honored places it against her groin. Each woman who plants the cuttings sits on a manioc tuber. After the field has been planted, a ceremonial digging stick is stuck into the ground and the people pray to Nungui.

The female owner of a field may not paint herself with genipa, or wear a bracelet around the forearm.

When planting banana trees, men observe various tabooes and pray to Shakaema, the husband of the Earth Goddess.

For 5 successive nights after planting their fields, Jívaro women dance and chant, asking the Earth Goddess to make their manioc grow. They also practice a magic ceremony to expel rodents which attack the crops. Tubers gnawed by these rodents are covered

with ashes and thrown into the forest. The people chant an incantation, requesting the rats not to harm the young plants.

HUNTING AND FISHING. --Aboriginal hunting weapons were the bow and arrow, the spear, and the atlatl. The blowgun has replaced the bow for hunting small game; and spears, thrown without the aid of the atlatl, are used for large game. Firearms are becoming more general (Stirling, 1938). Other devices include deadfalls, spring noose traps, and pitfalls with stakes in their bottoms (Tessmann, 1930). Stirling describes a communal peccary hunt carried on with the aid of dogs; the game is speared from trees or is driven into the water and pursued in canoes. Karsten (1935) gives no data on hunting methods but describes magic: Pepper is put in the eyes of hunters and their dogs to improve their vision; men take tobacco and paint their bodies red for strength; they do the same to their dogs; they keep animal trophies to insure future success; dogs are prevented from eating the bones of game; many charms are used; and hunting dogs are subjected to an elaborate ceremony involving manioc planting, fasting, drinking guayusa, and feasting.

Fish are caught by hand, drugged with barbasco and Clibadium, speared, harpooned, and taken with hooks, with traps placed under rapids, and with both hand nets and large casting nets. The antiquity of the hook is uncertain; bone hooks preceded iron. The Aguaruna catch fish ascending creeks in weirs (Villanueva, 1902-03, 13:79). [621]

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS. --The aboriginal Jívaro were unusual among Montaña

tribes in keeping a few llama and guinea pigs. It is doubtful whether the dog was native. Chickens and pigs were introduced by the Spaniards and, according to Karsten, were sacrificed in many ceremonies.

FOOD PREPARATION. --Food is ground on a flat wooden slab and in a mortar. It is seasoned with capsicum pepper and with both a natural and a prepared salt.

HOUSES AND COMMUNITIES

The Jívaro community is and always has consisted of a single large house (jivaría), usually located for defense on a steep hill at the head of some stream. It is moved at least every 6 years as new farm land is needed.

The house is elliptical, about 40 feet (13 m.) by 80 feet (26 m.) and has a thatched, gabled roof supported by interior posts and a side wall 8 to 10 feet (2.4 to 3 m.) high, made of strong, closely-spaced staves so as to be impervious to attack (pl. 60, bottom). One end of the house is occupied by men, the other by women. Furniture comprises sleeping platforms (fig. 91), storage platforms, hooks, and footstools. The Aguaruna were ascribed palm-fiber hammocks (Villanueva, 1902-03, 13: 81).

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Prior to missionary influence, nakedness was common although two garments seem to have been native: a wrap-around skirt for men (pl. 62, top, right) and a full-length robe

for women. The latter is pinned over the right shoulder, the left shoulder remaining bare (pl. 62, bottom, right). These clothes are generally of brown cotton, but poor people may dress in bark cloth (Stirling, 1938). Some individuals also use ponchos (Tessmann, 1930). [622]

A variety of fashions of coiffure are shown by Stirling (1938, pls. 3-10). Ornaments include fur and feather headdresses, ear pins, women's lower lip labrets, tatto, red bixa and black (genipa) paint applied with a roller stamp, blackened teeth, wrist and leg bands, and elaborate bead collars and chest bands. Status and other special badges include hunters' ornaments made of tayo bird femora, warriors' girdles with human hair attached, face paint, head rings, and women's upper arm bands.

TRANSPORTATION

Goods are transported in hexagonally-woven baskets held by tumplines. Babies are carried in bands (pl. 60, top, left).

Dugout canoes of some size and excellence seem to be aboriginal, but they have never been adequately described.

MANUFACTURES

BASKETRY. --Hexagonally-woven carrying baskets and mats are mentioned, but basketry techniques have not been analyzed.

SPINNING AND WEAVING. --Men do all spinning, weaving, and knitting. Astrocaryum

fibers are used to knit bags with an eyed needle and to make fish nets. Cultivated cotton is spun with a kind of drop spindle, the cotton being fed from an elevated container. Belts and clothing are woven on a nearly vertical loom set in a frame. The warp is wrapped continuously around the upper and lower bars, producing a cylindrical piece of cloth. Women color textiles with brown vegetable dyes (Stirling, 1938).

POTTERY. --Women are potters. They use a coil technique (pl. 62) and make cooking vessels, bowls, and large chicha jars. Some vessels have incised zigzag decorations. Others are fired, then colored red with copal (Stirling, 1938) or urucú (Tessmann, 1930; Karsten, 1935) (pl. 52, h). Some bowl interiors are decorated with white geometric designs representing mythical figures. Aguaruna bowl interiors are painted red-and-black-on-white and are varnished with carafia. Some bowls have rattling pebbles inside a double bottom.

SKIN WORK. --Several fur products are made, including head bands and bags. Preparation of shrunken heads (p. 625) also involves techniques of skin and hair preservation.

METALLURGY. --The Jívaro have remained very indifferent to the considerable placer gold in their territory. Of Highland metal objects, they acquired only a few copper axes.

FIRE MAKING. --Fire is made with the drill and activated with a feather fan.

WEAPONS. --Weapons of warfare reported in 1540 were lances and round shields; in

1571, spears, spear throwers, round shields of tapir hide and wood, and copper axes; and, in 1582, throwing spears, thrusting [623] lances, and stones (for slings?). The bow and arrow and spear were used in 1582 for hunting.

During the late 17th century, the bow and spear thrower were abandoned, and the blowgun and hand-thrown spear became the principal hunting weapons. In the present century, blowguns, spears (pl. 62), and firearms are used for hunting. Spears are often tipped with iron, but heads of human bone or chonta palm wood are preferred, the latter for their magical potency. The shield is now made of hide or of a single piece of wood to resemble three concentric, superimposed circular slabs.

SOCIOPOLITICAL GROUPS

The sociopolitical unit from pre-Columbian times to the present day has been the household, which formerly consisted of 80 to 300 persons and occupied a single dwelling (*jivaría*), but today has only 30 to 40 persons. Each house stands in a more or less isolated, defendable site, one-half to several leagues from its neighbor.

The group occupying the *jivaría* is described as patrilineal, but no analysis of its composition or structure is available. Karsten's assertion (1935) that, after a period of matrilocal residence, a newly married couple established its own house scarcely fits the picture of a patrilineal household which would require ultimate residence in the groom's father's house.

Each community is independent, having its own headman, but a half a dozen friendly

jivarías may unite temporarily for warfare. After the 16th-century rebellions against the encomenderos, large numbers of jivarías formed alliances against the Spaniards.

LIFE CYCLE

CHILDBIRTH. --Jívaro women know vegetable abortives. During child birth, a mother is isolated lest she contaminate other people. Afterward, both parents are subjected to food taboos and to various restrictions on their activities in order to protect the infant, but the father does not remain in bed. Unlike many neighboring tribes, the Jívaro do not kill one of twins. They practice infanticide only on deformed babies (Karsten, 1920 a).

PUBERTY. --Tessmann (1930) denies that the Jívaro have menstrual observances, but Karsten (1920 a, pp. 13-28) describes measures to protect menstruating women from spirits which seek to make her pregnant and a tobacco ceremony designed to give a girl strength after her first menses and to reinvigorate an older woman. The ceremony begins with a crop fertility ceremony and the slaughter of specially raised pigs and chickens, after which the girl takes tobacco juice to cause vomiting and to produce visions. He also describes a feast to initiate boys into manhood (Karsten, 1935, pp. 237-242), but there appears to be no secret cult. [624]

MARRIAGE. --A man may marry his cross-cousin and his sister's daughter (Karsten,

1935, p. 186). Polygyny is common, especially because of high male mortality in warfare. Stirling describes marriage by purchase, often of pre-pubescent girls (1938), but Karsten states that bride service to the girl's father is given during several years of matrilocal residence in lieu of a price. The levirate is required.

DEATH. --Archeology indicates some former urn burial in Jívaro territory (Stirling, 1938), though recently only the Aguaruna have practiced this method (Tessmann, 1930). In the historic period, an ordinary person was placed in a hollow-log coffin in a special hut; a chief's coffin was left in his dwelling, which was abandoned. The deceased was supplied with food and drink for 2 years, at the end of which he was supposed to become an animal or bird (Stirling, 1938). Some children, however, were buried in urns, and occasionally adults were given earth burial (Karsten, 1935, p. 460). Among all Jívaro, missionary influence has made earth burial more frequent.

WARFARE

The Jívaro differ from other Montaña tribes neither in the causes, methods, nor weapons of warfare but in their extreme zeal for war. Excited to rebellion during their 16th-century reduction on Spanish encomiendas, the Jívaro became formidable foes who have never been truly conquered to the present day. But their more absorbing military efforts have always been directed toward other Jívaro communities. The desire to avenge the death of members of their own household or to retaliate against imagined sorcery, to-

together with social prestige attached to military success, has, despite intervillage kinship bonds, pitted communities against one another in unending reprisals. Peace, concluded through the ceremony of burying the lance, may readily be broken by serving formal notice on the foe. The chronic danger of attack accounts for the elaborate rites by which peaceful visitors must approach and be received into a village.

Warfare is directed by a special chief of considerable though temporary authority. It begins with a dance of excitation while a shaman drinking cayapi invokes supernatural assistance. The aggressors attempt a surprise attack, using spears but never blowguns. Around their village the defenders have placed lances and firearms, both automatically released by bent poles, and barricades, pitfalls, and trenches filled with sharp stakes. If worsted, the villagers call for help with their signal drums and barricade themselves in their houses, shooting through loop holes. The victors shrink the heads taken from their foe and go home to celebrate a victory dance. The shrunken heads are proof that the ancestors have been avenged.

SHRUNKEN HEADS. --Shrunken heads (tsantsas) are now most typical of but not peculiar to the Jívaro (pl. 63). The skin is cut and removed from the skull, the lips are everted and pinned or sewed together, and the whole head skin is boiled with a plant which somewhat shrinks it and fixes the hair. It is further reduced by placing hot stones and

sand inside it; then it is smoked, polished, and kept in a jar. When victim's heads cannot be taken, sloth or other animal tsantsas may be substituted.

Many fraudulent shrunken heads, made from unclaimed dead in city morgues, are on the market and in museums. They generally lack one or more of the following characteristics of genuine Jívaro tsantsas: Lips sewn or pinned, the forehead compressed laterally, nostrils dilated, all facial hair except eyebrows removed (mustaches frequently reveal falsified tsantsas), the skin smoked-blackened and polished, and little ornamentation except the lip threads. The Jívaro, moreover, never preserve the whole body. (See Stirling, 1938)

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

ART. --The principal Jívaro art products are carved spear handles, feathered head ornaments, and mythological paintings on pots and other objects.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. --Jívaro musical instruments include: Hollow-log signal drums used singly (fig. 92; pl. 62); two-headed skin drums played both by dancers and by shamans; transverse and longitudinal flutes; musical bows; snail-shell trumpets; and jangles of shell and other materials attached to belts and leg bands. The Aguaruna make primitive two-string violins in imitation of Spanish models. Panpipes are merely children's toys.

DRINKS AND NARCOTICS. --Chicha is made by fermenting manioc and other plants.

Narcotics include tobacco, cayapi, Datura, and guayusa. Tobacco, the most important, was formerly taken only for magical purposes but is now generally smoked for enjoyment. Karsten (1935) describes the use of tobacco in boys' initiation rites, in women's tobacco ceremonies, in curing, in general magic, and in vision seeking. It is smoked as cigars, or else the juice is drunk or blown up the nose. Placed in the eye, it is thought to counteract bad dreams; painted on the body, it gives protection.[626]

Cayapi is used by shamans or by people wishing to contact ghosts or to provoke divinatory visions.

Datura is drunk or taken as an enema through a straw by warriors desiring to gain power and to foretell the future.

Guayusa is a purgative and emetic and is believed to give strength.

SHAMANISM

The Jívaro shaman seems to have a greater variety of functions than his colleague among other Montaña tribes, though the incomparably richer material on the Jívaro (Stirling, 1938) may be responsible for this impression. He assists in warfare, makes rain, manufactures love potions, gives miscellaneous advice when under the influence of guayusa, causes disease, and cures illness by both herbal and supernatural means.

A neophyte shaman is instructed for 1 month, dieting for 5 days and taking five drugs,

including tobacco juice, cayapi, and three others, one of which may be Datura. He learns to control several disease-causing spirits: the spirit of the blowgun; the ray fish, most dangerous of all; snakes; a doorlike spirit causing barrenness; the woodpecker and toucan, which cause stomach trouble; the night bird, which brings various ills; and insects, which cause skin troubles.

To cause sickness, a shaman blows one of the spirits he controls into his victim by means of tobacco smoke (Stirling, 1938) or, with the aid of his spirits, he sends a magical 'thorn' or 'dart' (Tessmann, 1930; Karsten, 1935) into him. A water monster may also cause illness. To cure, a shaman sings, plays his drum, takes Datura, tobacco, and cayapi, and sucks out the 'thorn.' Shamans may also reveal the identity of a sorcerer. Some shamans may turn into jaguars to attack people.

RELIGION

Jívaro religion is based on the concept of a supernatural essence (tsarutama) that gives power to both objects and spirits. This essence is in the Rain God, who inhabits mountain peaks, in various animals including the Anaconda God, who lives in rapids, in demons, in the sun, the moon, the earth mother (whose importance is repeatedly stressed by Karsten), and, among plants, especially manifest in the chonta palm. It is in many fetishes, such as shrunken heads, fur balls taken from animal stomachs, certain brown stones, seeds, and jaguar teeth (Stirling, 1938). Though feared, these various spirits

and demons are the object of no organized cults. The supereme God, Cumbanama, is remote and has no interest in human affairs.

Karsten mentions an ancestor cult, which seems to be linked with ideas of reincarnation. Recorded beliefs about life after death, however, are too varied and conflicting to reveal a clear pattern of ancestor wor-[627]ship. Souls of warriors become, according to the qualities of the deceased man, either ferocious animals, such as jaguars, or inocuous animals, and children become birds. Shamans turn into dangerous monkeys, bears and deer (Stirling, 1938). Karsten also describes a belief in transmigration of souls to plants as well as to animals. Potential danger from one's ancestors motivates vengeance of their death, but it is not clear that they are propitiated to procure their direct intervention in worldly affairs. No formal ancestor cult with secret initiation, like that of the Tucano tribes, is indicated.

There is some hint of a guardian spirit concept in Karsten's statement (1935) that animals, birds, and other spirits seen under the influence of narcotics help the dreamer in various ways. These spirits, called the 'old ones,' seem to have some connection with the concept of reincarnation.

• Karsten describes five ceremonies which employ magic. These, mentioned above, are the victory celebration and the ceremonies for the benefit of children, young men, women,

and dogs. It is curious that pigs and chickens, both post-Columbian elements, have a prominent role in these rites.

MYTHOLOGY

Despite the continued vitality of Jívaro culture, mythology is being forgotten.

The creation myth recounts that Cupara (Compadre?) and his wife were parents of the Sun. They created Sun's wife, Moon, of mud. Among the children of the Sun and Moon were Manioc and various animals, including the Sloth, which was the first Jívaro. Ensuing adventures of the parents and children account for a large portion of Jívaro culture (Stirling, 1938).

The myth of the star brothers is very similar to the Tupí tale of twins. A jaguar killed his Jívaro wife, but his mother secretly reared his two sons, who became stars. When adults, they killed the jaguar to avenge their mother then returned to the sky by means of an arrow chain (Karsten, 1935, pp. 523-526). Other tales recount the flood, the theft of fire by Hummingbird, and the acquisition of salt, potter's clay, and pumpkins (Karsten, 1935).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Karsten, 1920 a, b, 1921, 1935; Relaciones geográficas de Indias, 1881-97; Rivet, 1924; Stirling, 1938; Tessmann, 1930; Up de Graf, 1923; Verneau and Rivet, 1912-22; Villanueva, 1902-03."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Reluctance of informants to talk about supernatural or personal matters was in part overcome by paying them well for the time they put in. Payment was commonly in the form of black gunpowder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, and cloth. In localities of Evangelican and missionary settlements, money was used as well. In visiting strange households, I found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jivaro men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved arranging the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. Thus, my host viewed my continued friendship to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred, despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

The following summary of soul beliefs is presented with two major reservations. First, as a summary, it omits consideration of the high degree of personal variability which is so characteristic of this population; what is presented here is a consensus of the views of men who were looked upon as experts in the field of religious beliefs and practices by the other members of the tribe. Second, I do not claim to have completely mastered the intricacies of Jivaro supernatural concepts; what is presented here should be viewed as a progress report on our knowledge of Jivaro soul beliefs. I fully expect additional field research to result in refinements of some of the statements presented here.

The 4,500 to 5,000 Jivaro proper live in a dense tropical rain forest environment amidst the hilly terrain at the foot of the eastern slope of the Ecuadorian Andes. The main source of food is shifting horticulture, with sweet manioc the chief crop. Hunting and fishing also have important roles in the economy. The basic economic and social unit is the nuclear family which most commonly occupies a house by itself. Such houses are scattered throughout the forest in very loose-knit neighborhood groupings, the Jivaro preferring not to live close together for explicitly-voiced anti-social reasons. Except in time of war, formal political organization is completely lacking at the neighborhood level and is never found at the tribal level. Suspicion and hostility are characteristic of the attitude toward fellow tribesmen, including many close relatives. Sorcery as well as murder by means of physical violence and poisoned food and drink are prevalent in the society.

Jivaro soul beliefs constitute one of the four major autonomous systems of verbalized thought so far noted in their culture. The other three are the system of crop fairy (**nayap**) beliefs, of witchcraft beliefs, and the kinship system. On a conscious level, each of these systems derives from independent assumptions and can be described as a logical unit in itself, though these conceptual systems may be functionally interrelated as an expression of subconsciously existing needs. Since belief in one of these systems is not explicitly based upon belief in another, an adequate understanding of Jivaro soul beliefs

14 Harner E-6, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 291 439 287 some less common than in former times, this change also being attributed to the growing supply of clothing and cloth obtained through trading partners.

178 291 301 287 499 Feather headdresses and bird skins are prepared in larger quantities than in previous decades, a trend ascribed to the increasing demand for these items for trade to the frontier Jivaro in exchange for firearms and machetes. Featherwork of Achuara origin is also more plentiful, and some of it is traded on to the frontier Jivaro in the west.

178 105 In summation, it can be said that the technological introductions, especially steel cutting tools and firearms, have become the most desired valuables among the interior Jivaro because of their great efficiency compared to the aboriginal equivalents. They have been put to the same basic exchange uses as traditional Jivaro valuables such as featherwork, i.e., they have been used as gifts to acquire services and reinforce obligations. However, the great demand for these new, highly valued goods has made them more significant instruments for attaining social ends, and the creative changes which have occurred in the culture following these introductions appear to be primarily connected to the acquisition, accumulation and distribution of the new items as valuables. Such developments have included the rise of intra- and inter-tribal trading partnerships, the growth in numbers of shamans, and the creation of intra- and inter-tribal shaman hierarchies. Through these developments, the technological introductions also may have indirectly contributed to the decline in inter-tribal warfare and to the reported increase in intra-tribal witchcraft and feuding. The total effect of the new technology on food production seems quite uncertain, with wild-plant gathering, pig-raising, and agriculture apparently showing declines, the latter two since at least about 1923.